1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

The influence of the

791 medicine man is due to his supposed power of prophecy and
787 divination. No explanation is offered of this power, nor does it appear that the Laibons are believed to enjoy the acquaintance and assistance of definite spiritual beings; but they can foretell the future by such methods as throwing stones out of a horn, inspecting the entrails of slaughtered animals, interpreting dreams, and delivering oracles when intoxicated with honey wine. Great, however, as is their influence, it does not appear that either among the Masai or
[171] the Nandi, where similar institutions prevail, they have ever attempted to assume a position like that of the various small sultans of the coast or the kings to the west of Lake Victoria.

791 The most celebrated of these medicine men was Mbatian, the father of the present holder of the office, Lenana, who died about 1890. He is celebrated for having prophesied outbreaks of cattle plague and small-pox, which duly came to pass; and also for having foretold the arrival of white people. It is generally said that he bade the Masai be friendly to them, but Mr. Hollis could not find any corroboration of this statement. His death was followed by
173 a disputed succession. There is considerable discrepancy as to
791 the details of the story, but, according to the versions taken
662 down by Mr. Hollis (p. 327), Mbatian told his eldest son Sendeyo that on the morrow he would invest him with the insignia of a Laibon, of which the principal is an iron club. Lenana, the younger son, overheard, and presented himself before his father very early the next morning. Mbatian, who was very aged and had only one eye, behaved much like Isaac in similar circumstances, and gave his younger son the insignia, saying 'Thou shalt be great among thy brothers and among all the people.' In any case, Lenana succeeded,
791 and was accepted as Laibon by all the Masai except the Loita.
578 This created a division in the tribe, and as it roughly
●619 corresponded with the division between British and German territory, Sendeyo was long regarded as the chief of the German Masai and Lenana of the British. But in 1902 Sendeyo quarrelled with the German administration, made his peace with his brother, and came over to the British Protectorate.

776 The religious ideas of the Masai, as collected by Mr. Hollis, are vague and unformulated. The commonest word for God is Eng-aï, which it will be observed is a substantive with a *feminine* article. Eng-aï appears to be used either quite indefinitely and impersonally of remarkable natural phenomena

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

PART IV

'OROT OO-'L-MAASAE
DIVISIONS OF THE MASAI PEOPLE

619 101 The Masai race is divided into two sections, the one entirely pastoral and the other partially agricultural. The pastoral Masai call themselves Il-Maasae, whilst their brethren are known as 'L-Oikop *or* Il-Lumbwa.

101 614 634 The Masai are further divided genealogically into clans and families, and geographically into districts and sub-districts, as shown in the following tables:

Clans.	Families[1].
'L-Aiser.	'N-Gidoñgi (the medicine-man's horns), Il-Parkeneti (the counters?), Il-Lughumae, Il-partimaro.
Il-Meñgana.	'L-Aitayok, 'Siria (the designs?), Il-Marumae (the priers), Il-Makuperia (the flesh on the ribs).
Il-Mokesen.	Il-Mokesen-aate, Il-Partalale (the long-sighted ones), Il-Tarōsero, Il-Kiporon (the scars?)[2], Il-Tanap-ōwaru (the lion-killers).
Il-Mōlelyan.	Il-Mōlelyan-aate, Il-Mamasita, Il-Pojos, Il-Kipuyōni, Il-Moshōno, Il-Masañgua, Il-Mokorere.

Whenever representatives of the four clans take part in a raid, it is usual to refer to the Aiser and Meñgana clans as 'L-oodo-kīshu (the blood-red cattle), and the Mokesen and Mōlelyan clans as 'L-oorook-kīshu (the black cattle).

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Districts.	Sub-Districts.
Kaputiei *or* Kaptiei.	'L-oodo-kilani (the blood-red cloths), Matapato, Il-kūk-oonyokyo (the red trees[3]), Il-dala-le-kutuk (the fast talkers).
En-aiposha (the lake).	Purko, Kinōkop (the burning country?), Il-damat, 'L-oita.
Kisongo.	Moipo (the Pangani River), 'M-baashi (the valleys), 'K-oonyokyo (the red soils), Em-bughoi (name of a tree[4] and light yellow), Il-launyi (the mistakes),

[1] Some of these families are again divided into smaller sub-sections.

[991] [2] The members of the family called Il-Kiporon are said to be snake-charmers and rain-makers.

[3] *Embelia kilimandscharica*, Gilg.

[4] *Terminalia sp.*

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

II – TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND OTHER SOCIAL ELEMENTS OF THE MASAI

101 619 The name Masai covers a group of related tribes in British East Africa. The linguistic classification of BRYAN (see Bibl.) distinguishes five Masai tribes:

1. *The Samburu*, north east of Lake Baringo, in the Rift Valley and Northern Frontier Provinces of Kenya. They are sometimes called Burkeneji, a derivative from *il-loo-iboor-keneji*, the people of the white goats. They are pastoral. We know very little of their social organisation as they have never been studied on the field.

2. *The Njamusi or Njempa*. They live close to Lake Baringo, and are mainly agricultural. DUNDAS,[1] states that " they are survivors of a Samburu tribe called Il Digio ". What we know of the Njamusi is practically limited to the fact that they exist.

3. *The Kapiti or Kaputiei*. They live mainly in Kenya around Narok, Ngong and Kajiado. Some are found in Tanganyika. All are pastoral. HOLLIS' standard work on the Masai refers mainly to this tribe.

4. *The Kisongo*, found mainly in Tanganyika around Loliondo and Mondul. There are a few in Kenya. All are pastoral. The other standard work on the Masai by MERKER describes, for the most part, the Kisongo.

5. *The Lumbwa*. The name means " farmers ", and is correctly applied only to the agricultural Masai. It is wrongly used also for the Kipsigis. The Lumbwa are found mainly in Tanganyika near Lake Natron, Lake Manyara, and around Arusha and Mt. Meru. They are called by the other Masai *Il-Oikop*, a name of despisal.[2]

197 According to BRYAN and TUCKER, all these Masai tribes are linguistically distinguished by " very slight dialectal differences ".

[1] DUNDAS, *The Wamanga and other Tribes of the Elgon district, British East Africa* in *J. R. A. I.*, 43, 1913, p. 50.

[2] There are other names which do not indicate any special tribe, such as Il-Arusha, applied to the Masai living in or around Arusha. They are called Wa-Arusha by the neighbouring Bantu. Meru is the name for the Masai living on the slopes of Mt. Meru. They should be distinguished from the A-Meru of Kenya, Central Province. Kwafi is the Swahili term for the Masai, but it is especially applied to the Lumbwa of Kilosa District in Tanganyika. We may add that the Kikuyu and the A-Meru speak of the Masai (Mathai, Matae, respectively) as Okabi.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

permanent by the present administrative arrangement, but were not established by it. The land which divides the Samburu in the north from the Kapiti in the south of Kenya, was once the home of the Laikipiak and the Uasin Gishu Masai. In those days, Masailand was a continuous strip of land stretching over the plains south of Mt. Kilimanjaro and Mt. Meru up to the shores of Lake Rudolph. At the end of 19th century a great cattle plague and, even more, civil wars (the Kapiti versus the Laikipiak and Uasin Gishu) wrought havoc among the latter, who were almost destroyed. The few remnants have been absorbed by other Masai tribes, especially the Kapiti and the Kisongo. The Laikipiak plains west of Nanyuki which in 1904 had first been set aside as a special reserve (the Northern Masai reserve), were subsequently declared open to European settlement, and by 1911 Agreement the Southern Masai Reserve was enlarged into what is now the Extra Provincial District of the Masai in Kenya Colony. [1]

* * *

A comparative analysis of the literature shows the existence of three graded territorial units, the major and the minor territorial sections, and the village. A character common to the first two sections is the absence of a clear limit or boundary. The sections are spoken of in terms of watering and grazing rights. The nomadic aspect of Masai life is chiefly responsible for this territorial vagueness. The absence of any centralised authority to check people and cattle's transhumance is another important cause of the vagueness of Masai territorial organisation.

The major territorial section is made up by the area in which the movements of a full tribe usually take place. The existence of

[1] SANDFORD, *An Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve*, London 1919, Appendix; *K. L. C. E.*, p. 188. One may note that the Uasin Gishu and the Laikipiak, together with the Siria and the Lumbwa were despised as inferior, for they were not considered as "pure Masai" by the other tribes who regarded themselves as descendants of Maasinda. See FOSBROOKE, p. 7. This ill-feeling may explain in part, the fury with which the Kapiti fought against the Laikipiak and the Uasin Gishu.

In December 1950. I visited the Ndigirri Dorobo at Dol Dol on the Mukogodo Hills, some 50 miles north west of Nanyuki. They claim to have been dependent on the Laikipiak Masai, and they survived the slaughter thanks to their seclusion in the forests. Their present outlook seems to be entirely Masai. The names of their age-classes are consonant with those of the Masai.

. 2; Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

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these sections is evidenced at a superficial level by the adoption of a common tribal name. But members of a major section are more closely bound by their social, ceremonial and military relationships based on their common age-system. FOSBROOKE, [7] who did not consider the major territorial section as a unit of Masai territorial organisation, tries to explain as follows the Kisongo major section: "the majority of the Masai in Tanganyika regard themselves as Kissongo, but Kissongo is a very difficult term to define, for it is neither a sub-tribe, nor yet, strictly speaking, a section. The nearest definition is probably "that group of sections which follows the Mondul laibon". [8] See: below *laibon's* relationship to Masai social organisation. The early fieldresearchers, MERKER and HOLLIS, recorded the major territorial sections which they calle 'Provinzen' and 'Districts', respectively. MERKER, [9] gave their number as three: Kisongo, Loita and Ol Bruggo. HOLLIS, [10] counted five: Kaputiei (Kapite plains) En aiposha (Naivasha), Kisongo (south and West Kilimanjaro), Uasin Gishu and 'L-Aikipiak. He noted that the last two had practically ceased to exist. The point is also confirmed by S. L. HINDE. [11] The term *en-gop*, pl. *in-gwapi*, which HOLLIS translates as "the land, the country", seems to apply to these major sections. Their number corresponds, at present, to the linguistic groups we have reported.

The minor territorial section has been made the subject of special analysis by FOSBROOKE. He defines it as "a territorial unit of the Masai, the members of which regard themselves as owners of the waters and grazing grounds, to the exlusion of other sections. Such a unit is called *ol osho*, pl. *il oishon*. Alone or in groups the sections function as units in war, in allegiance to a particular *laibon*, and in performance of certain tribal ceremonies; in general they possess a sense of solidarity which expresses itself in regarding members of other sections to a certain extent as strangers". [12]

The absence of definite geographical limits and the stress on water and grazing rights have been noted. The *laibon's*, or prophet,

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[7] FOSBROOKE, *An Administrative Survey of the Masai Social System*, in *T. N. and R.*, 1948, p. 9.

[8] See below *laibon's* relationship to Masai social organisation.

[9] MERKER, *Die Masai: ethnographische Monographie eines ostafrikanischen Semitenvolkes*, Berlin 1904, p. 8.

[10] HOLLIS, *The Masai*, Oxford 1905, pp. 260, 290.

[11] HINDE, *The Last of the Masai*, London 1901, pp. 91, 97.

[12] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, pp. 7 ss.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

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position in connection with the nature of the major and minor territorial sections is questionable. FOSBROOKE has put into evidence the marginal significance of the *laibon* for Masai social organisation. He has also shown how wrong it is to ascribe to the prophet's institution a political function. The prophet can only obtain a personal political influence which is his, and not of his office. Now, to describe the *laibon's* institution as the point of allegiance of territorial sections' members is tantamount to making the prophet a central political authority which he is certainly not. The important point in the nature of the territorial sections is members' consciousness of their strength and sufficiency as to be entitled to keep tribal ceremonies of their own.[13] In studying the Laitayok minor section FOSBROOKE brings that home: "in some areas they (the Laitayok) have been absorbed by the section amongst whom they resided, and thus eventually they came to be regarded as a clan; in other areas they were sufficiently numerous to enable them to retain their own grazing grounds, and to justify their holding tribal ceremonies of their own". FOSBROOKE insists on the fortuitous origin of the territorial minor sections. The point becomes obvious if the nomadism of the Masai and the absence of any centralised authority are kept in mind. People remain in a definite place only for as long as they find good grazing and water for their cattle, but they move as soon as these fail, thus breaking up their territorial allegiance.

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The following is a tentative list of minor territorial sections deducted from the literature:

SAMBURU.
1. Pusigishu
2. Masola
3. Lukumai
4. L'Orogishu
5. Doiju
6. Mwesi
7. Longeli
8. Nyabarei
9. Loimusi

NJAMUSI. According to DUNDAS,[14] there are only two villages: Njemps Kubwa or Njemps Liabori – down stream; and Njemps Ndogo or Njemps Lekepir – up stream.

KAPITI.
1. Kaputiei or Kapiti
2. Damat
3. Ladokilarsi
4. Kakonyuke
5. Dalalakotok
6. Purko
7. Loita
8. Matapatu

[13] One should note here that tribal ceremonies are ceremonies connected with the institution of age-sets, a fact wich sleds light on the integrating power of the age-system. See BERNARDI, *The age-system of the Nilo-Hamitic Peoples*, in *Africa*, 22, 1952, pp. 316 ss.

[14] DUNDAS, *Notes on the Tribes inhabitating the Baring district*, in *J. R. A. I.*, 1910, p. 49.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

KISONGO.	1. Kisongo	2. Sigirari	5. Salei or Saleh
	a. Kiteto	3. Laitokitok	6. Laitayok
	b. Moiba	4. Siria	
LUMBWA.	1. Nguruman	2. Serenget	3. Engaruka

The villages, *eng'ang*, pl. *ing'angite*, is the minimal territorial unit. Villages are distributed within the minor sections. JOHNSTON,[16] had already noted that "they generally range within certain districts". A village is the residence of one or more elders with his or their wives and cattle. A man after his marriage does not live in the same village as his father, unless the latter has become senile and unable to cater for himself.

The internal structure of the village is based on the gatesystem. This consists in a proper arrangement of the house on the sides of the village's gates. The village consists of a large yard enclosed by a thorny fence with gates opening at opposite sides. The house are built on the right and left sides of each gate, every gate with its houses belonging to a single elder. The usual arrangement is as follows: the first house on the gate's right is the dwelling of the owner's first wife; the first house on the left side is that of his second wife; the second house on the right side is that of his third wife; and the same alternating order is followed if marries more wives. The central yard is reserved for cattle. The elder's cattle are allotted to each of his wives according to her rank in the house. Cattle in possession of one side of the gate cannot be inherited by the other side. When inheritance takes place it is with great care that one tries to avoid cattle interchange.[18] The gate system, observes FOSBROOKE,[17] is an ideal, and "a symmetrically arranged gate is seldom found in practice". When people move in search of better grassland, the village is not destroyed, but simply evacuated. During the owner's absence the houses may be occupied by other temporary tenants. At the reverse migration the owner comes back to his old village if this is not irreparably decayed, and it is agreed by custom that any foreigner who might have found shelter in the house must vacate the place to the original owner.

Another type of Masai village should be mentioned here. It is

[16] JOHNSTON, *The Uganda Protectorate*, London 1904, p. 810.
[18] See especially MERKER, *l. c.*, pp. 27 s.
[17] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 44.

where unarmed natives of the neighbouring tribes, whose duty or pleasure took them into the Masai Reserve, have been wantonly murdered, and the catalogue also includes numerous instances of thefts of stock from neighbouring farms and territories. An investigation of the record of each of these cases will show that in a small number only of incidents has the perpetrator of the crime been brought to book. The probability that the commission of a stock-theft or a murder can be performed by a Masai of the "Muran" class without the knowledge of his associates is so slight that it has been found necessary to accept the principle that the responsibility for the surrender of criminals traced to any particular area rests on all the members of the section inhabiting that area. This system is in vogue throughout all the native districts of the Protectorate and is generally employed with a fair measure of success, but a similar success does not attend its application to the Masai Reserve, and this reserve is, in fact, the area to which the great majority of impositions of fines under the Collective Punishments Ordinance, 1909, have been applied, the refusal of the Masai to assist in tracing the criminal rendering it necessary to utilize the provisions of the Ordinance to effect the punishment of the whole section involved. The blooding of a spear by the murder of an unprotected wanderer or the theft of stock guarded perhaps by children is a survival of the traditions which necessitated the "Muran" to prove their manhood during the period in the standing army or the "L-Ayok" to prove their worth before circumcision. Such acts may not be regarded at the present day as valiant, but it seems that the criminal's associates have not yet come to look on them as reprehensible, and the Masai, on account of their wealth, do not possess the same dread of a collective fine as is felt by certain of the poorer tribes. Under any circumstances, the "Muran" offer no assistance in the tracking down of the criminal and the elders, though professing detective zeal, are powerless to intervene. The attitude of the section involved in such cases is one of surprise and listlessness—they never know anything—and the collective fine which may ensue has not hitherto had the result of discouraging the adoption of such an attitude.

Divisions.

It will generally be found that fines of this nature have been levied on Confpanies or "Sirits" of different clans, and, sometimes, on all the members of a clan or division. There is no case on record in which a collective punishment has been imposed on the Masai tribe as a whole. It is therefore necessary to refer shortly to the divisions into which the Masai, who are all of one tribe, are divided by their traditions and customs, and to note also the divisions into which they are divided in practice for the purposes of the administration of the reserve. A description of the traditional divisions of the Masai people is given in Mr. Hollis' Book on the Masai, pp. 260 and 261, but the names which are now in use to denote the divisions of the tribe within the reserve do not exclusively follow either the genealogical or the geographical divisions which are there set out. The Officer-in-Charge of the Masai reserve is endeavouring to confine the members of each division to certain areas set apart for them as locations, and this step will have the effect of reconciling the name given to a division with the locality in which it is found, thus tending to perpetuate a convenient form of nomenclature.

Whatever may have been the original system on which these divisions were formed, it appears that there is a really marked clan feeling between them, and several incidents are recorded which disclose the presence of mutual distrust and strained relationship between the divisions, while interference by one division with another is keenly resented. These divisions form the basis of the tribal organisation of the Masai as it exists to-day and each division has its own Council of Elders. In the recently constituted "Masai Council," one elder, or more, has been chosen to represent each division and the Council so formed has been accepted as representative of the whole tribe. It will thus be seen that the division system presents an admirable method of dealing with the tribe, closely allied to the location system employed in other Native Reserves in the Protectorate, and has enabled unrest or crime to be so localised as to limit the liability for offences committed to certain definite sections of the Masai. Nevertheless, there is not sufficient difference in the behaviour or customs of the members of each

Masai Council.

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

614 breed than others. The most aristocratic of these clans are
565 the Ngajè-Masai, Molilian, Lyserè, and Leteyo. These have the finest physical development, and are undoubtedly superior
142 to the others in the shape of the head, the less depressed nose, and thinner lips. Indeed,—but for the prominence of the cheek-bones, a tendency to a Mongolian shape and upward slant of the eyes, the chocolate-coloured skin, and the hair with a tendency to become frizzy—they might pass muster as very respectable and commonplace Europeans. The Ngajè-Masai are the purest breed, and are to be found chiefly around Kilimanjaro. The most degraded tribe physically is that which is known to the coast traders by the name of Wa-kwafi. They seem to have acquired a strain of negro blood, as will be perceived by an examination of the photograph of the Masai of Lykipia (p. 205).[1] The higher development of the Ngajè-Masai is seen in the photo of an aristocratic woman of Njiri.

634 The country is divided into about ten principal districts, such as Sigirari, Njiri, Matumbato, Kaptè, Dogilani, Lykipia, Guas' Ngishu, &c. The various members of the race are
[614] generally designated by their native district. Various clans may be found occupying the same district, but they usually keep in distinct kraals. Hence they speak of the "El-Masai Matumbato," or El-Masai Kaptè. Each district also is fur-
[714] ther distinguished by having special heraldic devices on the
[531] shields of the warriors, painted with wonderful skill and taste in black, white, red, or yellow colours. Between the
● 619 various sections of the tribe there is not the slightest cohesion.
628 Wars among themselves are of constant occurrence, though when a state of war is not declared, they are on the most friendly terms,—their feuds not being of that deep-seated character which distinguishes those of semi-civilized lands.

174 Of these internal wars none have been so disastrous or so
628 oft-repeated as that between the main mass of the Masai and the Wa-kwafi (I here use the name for convenience). The original home of the latter was the large district lying between Kilimanjaro, Ugono, and Parè on the west, and Teita and U-zambara on the east. This large region is known to the Masai as Mbaruvui. Some fifty years ago the Wa-kwafi were numerous and strong, able to hold their own against all comers. About 1830—as far as I can gather—a series of misfortunes fell upon them. In a great war-raid against the Wa-gogo to the south they suffered a severe repulse, and great numbers were slaughtered. The same

[1] [not processed.—Ms. ed.]

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

174 It is impossible here to digress at length into the realms of pure archaeology, with reference to the Olduwai man, obsidian flakes, etc., but 172 any evidence which throws light on the type of life that the country supported prior to Masai occupation is of interest in relation to the type of culture which the Masai may be expected to attain.

Briefly, then, the evidence shows that immediately below the Rift Wall cultivation under irrigation was practised, and that east of the Rift the country had at one time been inhabited by a tribe fully acquainted with the arts of well-digging and dam-building. These people may have practised agriculture, but there is no evidence to show that they did; their water conservation measures certainly show them as being cattle keepers, since no agricultural community, drawing domestic water only, would sink 50 or 60 wells in one small area, as at Naberera. That a cattle owning community requires such numbers is obvious from the fact that the Masai use nearly every prehistoric well, and have opened many new ones in addition. These same people were possibly responsible for the dams on the south-east flank of Monduli mountain, and perhaps they constructed the irrigation system which the Chagga are alleged to have found on Kilimanjaro.

But the people who dug the Naberera, Makami, Ndedo, Ngasumet and Londergess wells were most certainly pure pastoralists, and were probably responsible for the construction of the rain ponds in this area. A rain pond, liable to dry up, is obviously as useless to a settled agricultural population, as a group of twenty or thirty wells in a confined area. But to a pastoral people two such sources of water in conjunction enable an otherwise inhospitable country to carry a large cattle population.

The only available evidence of settled habitation in the southern area is found near Makami and Londergess. In concentrated areas, one at each of these places, are to be found numerous large kitchen middens, composed of ash and refuse, and containing numerous pot-sherds, bones, and — most important of all — the clay mouths of native bellows, and the clinkers formed when iron ore is smelted.

Thus, throughout the whole of Masai District, the only signs of settlement are associated either with agriculture under irrigation, or with metal work. The rest of the evidence points to the fact that the country was inhabited by nomadic pastoralists. For this reason any other mode of living cannot be expected from the Masai unless by the provision of water a radical change is made in the environment.

B. Sub-tribes and Sections: Sub-tribes — Sections — Kenya Sections — Sections common to Kenya and Tanganyika — Laitayok, clan or section? — Salei — Serenget — Engaruka — Kissongo — Kiteto — Molbo.

619 The early history of the tribe has been summarized above; before turning to recent history, i.e. events occurring within living memory, it is necessary to define the sub-tribes and sections of the Masai, as a record of recent events is mainly a chronicle of civil war and strife between such units.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

MOLELIAN or L'OODOMONGI (left hand)	MOLELIAN	Masangwa Moingo L'oorok-kishu Parserengo *Makuleve* Parsindei Kivuyuni
	TAROSERO	Nanaapowaru Lais
	MOKASEN	Loiger Kiveron Pirda
	MAMASITA	Munai Jagei Kuyuni Paralangat Maravashi

II. Il Mingana. (*Laitayok*)

LAITAYOK (attached to right hand)	LAITAYOK	Sesoikineji Kisikon Parsais Paramangi Makuperia Lema Mosejwa Pojos Mohono
	MARUMAI	Parsele Maraani Leberet

Square brackets indicate exogamous groups; when not shown, sub-clans may inter-marry.

SECTION V. CLAN AND FAMILY MATTERS.

A. Clans — the clan chart — ownership of waters — areas peculiar to certain clans — clan responsibility.

The chart reproduced above explains the system more clearly than a lengthy description, but a few explanatory notes are necessary. The true Masai, i.e. those who regard themselves as descendants of Maasinda, divide themselves into two main groups (*indaloishin*, sing. *endaloshi*), the Laiser or Loorokiteng (black bullock) who are regarded as the right hand of the tribe, and the Molelian or Loodomongi (blood-red bull), the left hand.

These main groups are in turn divided into clans and sub-clans, called on the chart *engishome* and *olgilata* respectively. Some informants however reverse the terms. The clans are patrilineal, i.e. a child takes the father's clan They are also exogamous, i.e. a man may not marry

/7 cont./

000 against the former. The El kuafi recognized the chief (ol oiboni)
174 of the Masai as also their own and seem for a long time to have
184 been on the best of terms with them. Then -- so the tradition
669 tells -- a girl named Matangó, from the family of the ol oiboni
619 Sitonik -- she is usually designated as his sister, more rarely as
726 his aunt -- took a fancy to a member of a legation of El kuafi
[173] warriors sent to Sitonik and went away with her lover. When she bore him a son, the El kuafi proclaimed him their ol oiboni and at the same time refused to obey Sitonik. With this the wars began between Masai and El kuafi. They lasted -- so it seems -- the entire first half of the nineteenth century and occurred sporadically even in the second half of it. One of the decisive battles was at Kisongo, a six-hour march west of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/, where later on the chiefs of the Masai took up their permanent /8/ residence. The ones driven away went into the rugged forests of
[466] Meruberg, where they lived for a long time in constant strife with the Masai, until the chief Mbatyan completely subjugated them and forced them into compulsory service. Other battles took place near Ngurumán, north of Lake Natron; the rest of those conquered still live there, mixed with Wasegedju from nearby Sonjo. The
[361] remnants of the ones defeated in the Serengeti steppe are still to be found in Taveta, Kahe, Aruscha-tschini. The first battles between Masai and El kuafi probably took place in the vicinity of Kenia /Mt. Kenya/, and led to making the latter sedentary.

One of the last great clashes was in the steppe area Sogonoi; the ones conquered fled to Ngujuka and then farther to Useguha and Mahga, where they founded a settlement under the chief 'Lemá.

174 The Masai took a few individuals from among the defeated
184 into their community. The rest split up. One -- larger -- part
619 became sedentary and formed some colonies in the vicinity of
[361] foreign tribes or merged with other tribes. Another -- smaller --
[721] part at first made a living for a time from hunting, until it
[231] succeeded, by means of raids against sedentary peoples, in coming
[101] into the possession of livestock again. Today they again live wholly as before and are distinguished from the Masai only by

M 174 184 619 [101] [361]

/8 cont./
the name El muli. Those who became sedentary, however, are designated by the Masai as El lumbua and also as El kuafi -- probably because they constitute the main part of the old El kuafi. The caravan people, accordingly, call them Wakuafi, while they make no distinction between El muli and Masai and even impose on the former the name of the latter.

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In contrast to the El muli, who have remained pure, the El lumbua of all the settlements are more or less strongly mixed. In places the degree of mixture is so great that at first glance one scarcely recognizes the somatic features characteristic of the Masai people; in places, however, it is also still so slight that any mixture at all can only be determined by thorough investigation.

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A last group, finally, became hunters, the El asiti. This is the second branch of the Wanderóbo; the third and most recent, the El gasurek, arose from the Masai themselves, in that those impoverished by livestock epidemics were forced to a new means of subsistence.

M 634 635 [648]

Even up to 17 years ago the Masai were the lords of the vast steppes in German and British East Africa, when the European occupation brought about a change. The entire land inhabited by them is divided into three provinces. The Kisoñgo Province embraces those steppe regions that lie south of the line, extending east-west, connecting the peaks of Kilimandscharo and Meru. North of this lies the province of Loita, and still farther north, embracing the region of Lake Naiwascha, the province of Ol bruggo. In earlier times a part of Loita called Es sereñget seems /9/ to have temporarily formed a province by itself. Each province (ol oscho 'bo = a province) is divided into districts (eñ gob = the land), and these again into areas. Most of their names are proper names that can not be translated; others are chosen from local peculiarities, for example, springs, brooks, hills, mountains, trees, etc. The inhabitants often name themselves after the individual provinces or districts and then speak of Kisoñgo-Masai, Loita-Masai, Sereñgeti- or even Kiteto-, Moibo-, Sogonoi-Masai, etc. Earlier travelers often mistakenly took this designation for tribal names. Similarly, the word ol oikob has been misinterpreted,

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1. [The reference is to the last group of the original Kwafi--Analyst]

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/9 cont./ in that it was taken as a tribal name, and people spoke of ol oikob-Masai and ol oikob-Wakuafi. El oikob (sing. ol oikobani) means killers, rough, brutal persons, and is an invective with which the Wandoróbo, Wakuafi, and the Masai blacksmiths (el konono) designate their oppressors, the Masai. Fischer mistakenly translates the word as "owners of the land"; this, however, would be called: ol opén l eń gob.

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The Wakuafi live in their colonies as more or less peaceful, sedentary cultivators. Wherever they found peaceful neighbors after their defeats, they too became calm. On the other hand, where they remained in close contact with the Masai and were exposed to their constant raids, the old bellicosity remained in them. An example of this is the population of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/ in the Great Aruscha /Arusha/ and Meru areas. In spite of a very considerable mixture with Wadschagga from nearby Kilimandscharo, they have completely kept their original character traits. Their imperiousness, rapacity, and cunning equal that of the Masai; in courage, on the other hand, they even surpass them. Their numerous attacks on the camps of Europeans and trade caravans reveal them as brigands. The relationship between Wakuafi and Masai is in general not bad. The latter regard the former as fellow tribesmen, even though as inferior ones, because they work the soil and own only a little livestock. They are foes one minute and friends the next! And both must always reconcile themselves to each other, for the Masai cannot do without them as suppliers of vegetable foods, after the rinderpest at the end of the eighties again raged so destructively among their herds.

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While among the Wakuafi one can still clearly recognize their one-time power and greatness, this is no longer the case at all among the Asá. Most of them, just like the El asiti, timidly and concealed in the bush of the steppes, live in miserable little grass and leaf huts which can be reached only by hidden paths. Their food consists of game, which they kill with poisoned arrows and poisoned javelins, honey, agricultural products which they obtain in barter, various wild berries, roots, and herbs. Where they dwell in the vicinity of the Masai, they live in a certain

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Emil Müller phot.

Ill. 1. Masai woman from below Kibongoto.

177 That various customs of theirs and words of their language also found entry among the Negroes follows automatically.

• 619 144 142 114 While some travelers recognize at least a certain relationship between the three branches, others claim to have observed such great somatic differences between them that one might be doubtful about their racial unity and ask oneself whether the Wadoróbo and the Wakuafi of certain colonies should not be counted among the Negroes. This error is explained by the fact that those travelers have come into contact with them only superficially. /12/ drew conclusions going too far from isolated individuals to the generality, so that they regarded the Wakuafi, strongly mixed with Negroes, as pure, and Negroes strongly mixed with Masai blood as Wakuafi.

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619 142 144 In connection with the somatic view of the three Masai branches the following is to be considered. The band that immigrated last, the true Masai, have kept themselves quite pure as a race. They [727] 171 [582] [563] practically never subscribed to the kidnapping of women and children in war, otherwise customary everywhere in Africa, they did not marry Negresses and did not take Negroes into their community.

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Fonck II phot.

Ill. 2. Three Masai women.

619 142 144 Therefore they most clearly show the racial characteristics peculiar to the Masai people. The same was true of the Wakuafi until the [178] [361] time when they became sedentary. Then, however, they needed not only replacements for their lost cattle, but also many hands trained in the cultivation of the soil. For this reason on war expe- [727] ditions they dragged off, not only the livestock of the enemy, as before, but also the women and children. The degree of mixture between Wakuafi and Negroes is very different in the individual [i.e., the Masai, Wakuafi and the Wandorobo --Analyst]

M /12 cont./
• 619 Wakuafi settlements. In general, naturally, the mixture is greatest
142 where the Wakuafi have already been sedentary longest, least and
144 often scarcely /13/ noticeable or even not at all where they did
[361] not become sedentary until the last half of the nineteenth century.
M The cattle epidemics, which constantly brought new Masai elements
[731] to the Wakuafi, had a restraining effect on the mixture. In many cases one can quite accurately determine whether and what kind of foreign blood a single individual has by careful questioning about
D the family tree. Among the Wandorobo who live far from the
144 Negroes, in the midst of the most inhospitable bush of the steppes, for the most part probably no mixture with Negro blood has taken place, at all, against which, to be sure, such with the Saoska, belonging to the tribally related Tatoga, must be assumed with certainty on grounds of a historic and linguistic nature, as well as according to the tradition. Degeneration through inbreeding also seems excluded from the outset, for they constantly had an influx of Masai women and children, whose husbands and fathers had perished in the famine following a cattle epidemic.

M If one examines the somatic characteristics of the three Masai
D branches from these points of view and with the elimination of all
142 cases in which a mixture has been proved or is not excluded, one
[144] comes to the conclusion that one has before one a homogeneous race. Their characteristic traits are the following: the bodies are tall and slender. They do not, however, appear unattractively thin, but rather give the impression of elegant, flexible mobility. The thin, fine bones are surrounded by well-developed muscles, which, to be sure, stand out clearly, but, in conformity with the slenderness, not obtrusively. One sees especially beautiful forms among young girls. They are gracile, slender figures whose limbs show only just enough roundness in order to make them appear comely. Shapeless, unlovely ampleness one really finds only among older women. The skin color varies between deep dark-brown and light chocolate-brown. The heads are high and narrow, the oval face often has finely chiseled, attractive features and is less prognathous than among Negroes, not infrequently even orthognathous. The high, narrow forehead is well arched, the

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eyes are almond-shaped, straight or somewhat slanted. The nose is extended, narrow, and, at the root, flat or very moderately deep-set compared to the forehead. The alae are narrow and very flat, the nostrils roundish to longitudinally oval, less often transversely oval. The bridge of the nose is straight, sometimes slightly convex. The lips are full, without appearing actually protruding. Protruding, thick lips are something so rare and striking that they earn their owner the name Lebeleb -- thick lip (or actually: uproar, loud noise). The ears are small, except for the hyperplasia of the upper edge of the ear and ear lobes caused by the wearing of heavy ornaments. The hair is evenly distributed over the scalp, which is most clearly shown on recently shaved heads. The hair often appears "tufty," but this is artifically produced. Only at a length of from one to three centimeters does it curl slightly and /14/ almost never becomes completely curly. The arms and especially the legs are very long, the wrists thin, hands and feet, especially among female individuals, small, narrow, and delicate, the fingers are slender and often strikingly long and narrow, the fingernails long, narrow, and slightly arched.

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Even if the racial membership of the three branches were to be traced anthropologically, one can determine an even closer connection ethnographically, which must lead to the conviction that all three belong to the same people. The difference in their principal occupations, to be sure, seems at /Ill. 3 appears here/ first glance to indicate a sharp division. As has already been pointed out above, however, one can easily explain these differences by the consistent behavior of a people of similar customs and habits under unlike external circumstances. The predilection for stock raising, based on the eagerness for a meat diet, and the nomadic life necessarily growing out of it were common. While the Wandorobo had to endure it when their livestock fell victim to epidemics and raids of the strong Wakuafi, the latter, under pressure from the still mightier Masai, had to flee from the open plains to fixed residences in the mountains. The Wakuafi protected

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1 2 3 4 Emil Müller phot

Ill. 3. Young Masai. 2 and 4 pure-blooded, 3 mixed with Negro blood, 1 doubtful.

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The Wakuafi protected what remained of their livestock by giving up their roving life, whereas the Wandorobo, by sacrificing their herds, were able to continue their fancied nomadic life as hunters; and neither of them needed to forgo the meat diet.

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/15/ Even though, in general, one should be very careful in ethnology about drawing conclusions from linguistic bases, it seems permissible here, on behalf of the three branches' belonging to one people, to point to their language as well.

As a matter of fact, we find the same language among the Masai and Wakuafi, with the limitation that for the latter, with the great number of Masai dialects, sometimes this one, sometimes that one is their own, according to the location of their area, whereas the very widely ranging Masai probably understand almost all the dialects. In addition, for the Wakuafi, in places, according to the degree of their mixture with Negro tribes, a language of the latter's is more or less familiar. Of the Wandoróbo, the El gasurek speak only the language of the Masai, whereas the Asá and

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the El asiti also have their own idiom, which will be briefly discussed at a later place.

Corresponding to the uniformity in language, the number words are the same among the Masai and Wakuafi, whereas the Asá and El asiti have their own words for only a few numbers, but in general always make use of the ones used by the other two branches. One finds a complete correspondence for all three branches in their religious view, and the manner of circumcision customary among both sexes. The peculiar circumcision of the boys is practiced by no other people at all, with the exception of one lineage of the Tatoga, closely related to the Masai people. In birth and death, too, all three have the same customs, while in the rest of their customs one finds only unessential differences which are based solely on the difference in their external way of life. The most striking proof for the three branches' belonging together, however, lies in their descent.

The people as a whole are divided into three large tribes, the Il aiser, the El mulelyan, and the El mengana, each of which is made up of a number of lineages, and every Asá, as well as every Ol kuafi and Ol massani, is a representative of one of these lineages.

If we now concern ourselves further with the ethnography of the Masai in particular, which is at the same time that of the Wakuafi, we are thereby including the ethnographic traits of the entire people; the stressing of individual differences that have developed among the Wandorobo in the course of time and under the influence of changed conditions will be reserved for the third part.

/16/ Second Part

I.

Tribes, lineages, sublineages. -- The En gidon lineage. -- The chief: his rule and policy, magic medicines, genealogical tree, village, ceremonies, foods. -- The sorcerers. -- The El kiborōn lineage. -- The rainmakers.

Every tribe (eṅ gischomi) is divided, as has already been mentioned, into a number of lineages (ol gelata, el gelat). Among these, in turn, one distinguishes principal lineages (ol gelata kitok)

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175 was followed by Subet and the latter by Mbatyan. After the latter's
• [619] death the Masai split up. One part placed itself under Lenana,
the eldest son of the principal wife, who was born before the accession of Mbatyan, the other under Zendeo, who was the old man's favorite son and named by him to be his successor. The people relate that Lenana cheated Zendeo out of the succession in a way similar to how Jacob cheated Esau out of the right of the first-born. Whereas the deception was achieved in the latter case through the tied-on goatskin, it was made possible in the former case by the gloom of the hut in which old, weak Mbatyan was lying on his sickbed. He thought he had Zendeo before him and instructed Lenana in the secret arts of the ol oiboni. The two are now bitter enemies,
[669] who maintain a continuous civil war, to the misfortune of the Masai people. Lenana, now a man about 49 years old, lives with his followers in British East Africa, in the vicinity of the railroad station Nairobi, whereas Zendeo, ten years younger, inhabits, with his hordes, the steppes of German East Africa. Both are merely phantom figures in comparison with their father, who had occupied an
175 outstanding place in the succession of chiefs. Under him the Masai
619 experienced their last golden age. After his forefathers Sitonik and
791 Subet had subjugated the Wakuafi, it rested upon him to keep down
726 their constant uprisings and to weaken and enslave them so that no
[669] danger from them could threaten the Masai any longer. Through a well-organized spy system Mbatyan kept himself continuously informed about the conditions of his opponents, so that the rapacious warriors could always attack those very Wakuafi settlements in which a war expedition /20/ against the Masai was being prepared. The most trouble here was made by the Wakuafi of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/, who found safe hiding places for women and livestock in the clefted mountain forests, while the men undertook raids on
175 neighboring Masai kraals. Finally, however, the Meru people were
619 successfully mastered; indeed, they even became so pliable that
791 they performed compulsory labor for their oppressors. One must
729 bear in mind with what deep contempt all men of the Masai people
466 look upon any kind of work, which they regard as something dis-
461 graceful, not compatible with a man's dignity, in order to

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791 understand what such a success meant. Mbatyan demanded thou-
727 sands of workers, and they moved obediently, in endless long lines,
466 men, women and children, toward the steppe area of Kisongo, lying
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Merker phot.

791 Ill. 4. Zendeo, the present chief of the Masai.
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791 west of the mountain, where the mighty one resided, like his
727 ancestors. There they had to dig a long water channel, whereby --
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[462] a further particular humiliation -- the men had to work in rank
175 and file with the women. Encouraged by these and other successes,
648 the Masai became more and more arrogant, and they extended
721 their war expeditions farther and farther. It was not only the
Negro tribes of the interior who had to suffer under their lust for
robbery and murder, they even penetrated into the immediate
hinterland of the coast and directly approached the coastal cities
of Mombasa, Tanga, Bagamoyo, and others.

175 The belief in the magic means for healing purposes which
791 Mbatyan gave those seeking help, and whose chief ingredient
755 quantitatively was the vanilla-scented, pulverized wood of the
ol mogongora liana, was so deep-seated in the people /21/ that
it was often supposed to have actually brought to the people

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619 728 After a battle of the Masai among themselves, the conclusion of peace is that the speakers, in the presence of a number of warriors of both parties, exchange their skin capes and sandal thongs. This is called etabaschage megitin = exchange of skin capes.

726 701 484 The length of the stretches covered on war expeditions, in comparison to that of their neighbors carrying on agriculture, is often astonishing. Performances of 60 to 80 kilometers a day, three or four days in succession, are by no means exceptions. If one considers, [702] however, that the training of warriors consist only of marching, that, [276] aside from their weapons, they carry nothing heavy, and before their marches, as well as during them, they partake copiously of stimulants, their performances in no way exceed those of a German infantry troop. The tales of the caravan people relate miraculous things about 701 182 147 271 the speed and endurance of the Masai warriors, and even European travelers have contributed to the spread of this legend in that they compare the physical performances of the Masai with those of the Europeans in the tropics. The untenableness of such a comparison is obvious. One also often hears how the Masai are admired for their alleged ability to be able to give up the drinking of water on their marches. Presumably this rumor arose from the fact that these people, in contrast to other tribes, never carry a gourd bottle of water on their 701 182 271 long migrations. The Masai, however, knows perfectly every little spot of the steppes, he knows every rocky basin, every tiny spring, he also knows where an apparently dry brook bed carries subterranean [823] water. Where water has collected in old hollow trees, and especially in baobabs, this is accessible to him through a series of steps made [824] out of foot-long taps bored in horizontally. Finally, there are a number of water-rich roots and tubers, which, chewed, are very well suited 701 182 222 by their water content to quench thirst. They serve him, /104/ just as the wild honey, not infrequent in the steppes, also serves as food on the march. A cuckoo bird, the honey indicator (Cuculus indicator, called [825] eñ johoroi by the Masai), leads the Masai to the concealed honey holes. [136] As soon as it sees human beings it calls with a strident sound and then flies slowly to the nearest honey place, to which the people follow it [825] in order to take out the honey. If the amount found is still not sufficient for the warriors, they bury the chewed comb, whereupon the bird, after

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XXII.

000 Law. -- Concerning family and personal rights, cf. 2nd Part, II, IV, and XX. -- Property rights. -- Things found. -- Barter or purchase. -- Liability of the relatives for debts, gift. -- Penal law. -- Murder and manslaughter. -- Revenge. -- Composition. -- Negligent homicide. -- Bodily injury of various degrees. -- Accomplices. -- Immoral offenses. -- Suicide. -- Kidnapping. -- Theft. -- Treason. -- Arson. -- Cowardice in war. -- Death penalty. -- Fines. -- Degrading punishment of warriors. -- Compensation for innocent accused persons. -- The mentally ill. -- Warning. -- Legal proceedings. -- Courts. -- Example of a /212/ criminal case. -- Inquiry about an unknown culprit; -- Pleading. -- Swearing to the truth. -- Torture for exacting the truth. -- Ordeals in the search for truth. -- Sorcery procedures. -- No international prosecution of criminal deeds.

671 An awareness and understanding of justice are very little developed among the Masai. Therefore only a small number of customary [184] legal provisions exist, which are by no means uniform for all Masai, but rather often enough vary in the different districts. As nomads, [361] among whom individual families frequently live alone or with their closest relatives in a kraal, by themselves, without having neighbors in the larger vicinity, they make do with fewer laws than another tribe whose numerous members are supposed to live within definite fixed limits in permanent order and peace. Furthermore, the nomadic life in and of itself leads to a freer conception of life, which opposes tutelage through laws and often prefers to let might [593] come before right. But in order to understand the great inconsist- [619] ency in individual legal decisions, one must above all take into [186] consideration the feeling of solidarity, which is strongest in the family and always still strong enough in the tribe to arouse from the first great prejudice against anyone who does not belong to the 593 tribe. The questions concerning family and personal rights have

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178 that are started with as a rule and which one therefore finds in all the
241 settlements. Yet despite the ease of production of the field crops,
the transition to agriculture nevertheless is taking place in a way
178 that is reducing the population in extraordinary fashion. First of all,
182 the acclimatization process slowly being accomplished demands a
164 great sacrifice of human lives. The Masai, little afflicted with
165 fever in the dry steppes, suffers with it quite seriously in the moist
regions in which mosquitoes are permanently at home. Thus on two
occasions in the same new settlement I found all the adults and many
children sick with fever. Another one had just been abandoned by
its inhabitants, leaving the sick behind. The ones left behind,
principally men and boys, were badly reduced by fever and, in
addition, suffered to a great extent from virulent leg ulcers, whose
great extent -- in many cases they covered the entire lower leg,
from knee to ankle -- probably is to be traced back to a general
weakening of the body by fever and lack of food; for such ulcers
are not common among nomadic Masai, and, where they occur,
/350/ they remain smaller and show a tendency to heal rapidly.
Other illnesses arise from the unfamiliar diet. The rapid transition
[262] from an almost pure meat diet to an almost pure vegetable diet
makes demands on the stomach and intestines that a body weakened
by fever is seldom equal to. Sickness and death from this cause
are frequent and are increased further by the consumption of bad
water. Thus, more than half the people in one settlement com-
plained of painful diarrhea and bloody stools. All these acclimati-
[842] zation illnesses seem also to manifest their effect in decreased
[163] fertility of the women and increased child mortality. I was repeat-
edly struck by the small number of sucklings (two-year suckling
period) and older children. Thus early in 1902 in Ngaruka, between
Lake Manyara and Lake Natron, among a number of about 50 women,
I found only twelve children, three of them babies. According to
the statements of the parents, very many children had died of various
ailments, especially fever, stomach and intestinal affections, several
178 also had perished in Masai attacks. For the Masai who are becoming
• 619 sedentary, the ones still living among the "people" as nomads are
721 a scourge that scarcely falls short of the illnesses just mentioned in

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its effect. Hated as faithless and despised as agriculturalists, the sedentary ones are constantly plagued by raids that not only cause them great loss in human lives, but also take away any possibility for them to arrive at any improvement in their way of life by keeping livestock for the attainment of the meat and milk diet so necessary for them. Moreover, the frequent intercourse with sedentary Negroes and caravan people leads to an increase in the cases of venereal diseases. Premature marriages of girls, which can not happen among the Masai still living as nomads, is not rare among the sedentary ones and often enough leads to the death of the young woman who is scarcely more than a child and whose bony structure, despite her attained capability to conceive, is not yet developed. Finally, it must still be mentioned that no doubt the longing for the formerly free life in the broad steppes and the feeling of humiliation over having become a so deeply despised cultivator of the soil oneself are factors that have a wasting effect. The latter circumstance also brings with it a decrease of national pride. The barrier that kept Negroes out of the community of the Masai has fallen. A disadvantageous race mixture hurting the people is slowly taking place. Among the Wakuafi this process was more rapid in their period. At that time no European administration prevented their raiding expeditions in Negro regions, from which they brought home livestock and women experienced in agriculture.

In frequent -- almost daily -- intercourse that soon springs up and then continues to exist between the Masai who have become sedentary and the settled Negroes, the Masai naturally also share in the disadvantages that /351/ come to the Negroes through the encounter of their lower culture with our higher one.

We have seen how many difficulties sedentation brings to the Masai, and it is therefore not surprising that a part of those who have already become sedentary give up their fixed residences again after repeated failures. These then often join the Wandorobo, to live by hunting, and call themselves this.